

Message Text

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S E C R E T NAIROBI 9858

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFEELE

DEPT PASS SECRETARY'S PARTY

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: YOUR AFRICAN TRIP

1. AS YOU DEPART, I HAVE TRIED TO DRAW TOGETHER SOME OF THE NEGATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATION IN AN EFFORT TO LOOK AT THE POSSIBLE EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION.
2. THE AFRICANS ARE ACQUIESCENT AND SOMETIMES ENCOURAGING REGARDING OUR EFFORTS BUT THEIR ATTITUDES HAVE RANGED FROM SKEPTICAL TO PESSIMISTIC AS THE SITUATION HAS DEVELOPED. THEIR ANALYSIS TENDS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE DIFFICULTIES, IN PART BECAUSE THESE ARE THE MATTERS THEY ARE REQUIRED TO RESOLVE, IN PART BECAUSE OF PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE, IN PART BECAUSE OF SUSPICION OF US AND OUR MOTIVES. OBVIOUSLY, THOSE HOSTILE TO US -- BOTH AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN -- HAVE FOSTERED MANY OF THESE DOUBTS.
3. THE AFRICANS BELIEVE WE HAVE BEEN MUCH MORE DETAILED IN OUR TALKS WITH SAG THAN WE HAVE TOLD THEM. THEY WILL WANT TO KNOW MORE.
4. SPECIFICALLY, THEY ARE PUZZLED ABOUT HOW SMITH WILL BE GOTTENRID OF OR, ALTERNATIVELY, HOW ANYONE CAN BE

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ASSURED THAT SMITH HIMSELF WOULD ACTUALLY NEGOTIATE ON THE

BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE -- EVEN IF HE MAKES ALL THE PROPER NOISES, DIRECTLY TO US OR OTHERWISE. THESE IS APPARENTLY A STORY GOING AROUND THAT WE HAVE INDICATED THAT SMITH WOULD BE GONE WITHIN TWO MONTHS BUT THE AFRICANS FIND IT QUESTIONABLE SINCE THEY DON'T SEE HOW IT WOULD OR COULD BE ACHIEVED.

5. LINKED TO HIS IS NYERERE'S APPARENT BELIEF THAT USG STATEMENTS DESIGNED FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION ENCOURAGE SMITH TO BELIEVE THAT WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN HE CAN DEPEND ON THE U.S. FOR ASSISTANCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS A RENEWED SUGGESTION FROM NYERERE THAT THE UK CONVENE A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE WITH OR WITHOUT SMITH -- THIS DESPITE NYERERE'S STAUNCH OPPOSITION TO THE RESUMPTION OF ANY REAL BRITISH AUTHORITY IN RHODESIA.

6. WE CAN ALSO EXPECT AFRICANS TO BE EXTREMELY WARY -- TO THE POINT OF HOSTILITY -- OF A MEETING WITH SMITH. IF WE DON'T TELL THEM OF SUCH A MEETING IN ADVANCE, WHEN THEY LEARN OF IT THEY WILL BELIEVE THAT SOME DEAL IS BEING STRUCK TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE NATIONALISTS, PROBABLY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "PUPPET" GOVERNMENT. IF WE TO TELL THEM IN ADVANCE, IT WILL REQUIRE ALL YOUR POWERS OF PERSUASION TO CONVINCE THEM THAT THIS WOULD BE A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. THEY ARE LIKELY TO SAY THAT IT IS USELESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH SMITH, WHO WOULD VIEW ANY MEETING AS A "NEGOTIATION," HOWEVER WE MIGHT CHARACTERIZE IT, AND WHO WOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO PLAY HIS USUAL CAT-AND-MOUSE GAME, GAINING A NEW LEASE ON LIFE. THEY WILL ALSO POINT OUT THAT THE U.S. ITSELF CANNOT PUT DIRECT PRESSURE ON SMITH. ONLY VORSTER CAN DO THAT AND HE SOUNDS AS IF HE IS NOT WILLING TO DO SO. IF A SMITH MEETING WERE NOT FOLLOWED BY RAPID AND FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS, WE CAN BE ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE ACCUSED OF REINFORCING SMITH'S INTRANSIGENCE RATHER THAN HALPING TO GET RID OF HIM.

7. REGARDING NAMIBIA, THE PROSPECTS IN AFRICAN EYES ARE BETTER. I WOULD EXPECT TWO MAJOR PROBLEMS TO CROP UP, THE NATURE OF UN PARTICIPATION AND WHETHER SAG WILL INDEED NEGOTIATE WITH SWAPO. THE LATTER IS MORE COMPLICATED

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BECAUSE THE AFRICANS WILL BE SUSPICIOUS OF ANY FORMULA WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS GIVING SAG THE POSSIBILITY OF WIGGLING OFF THAT HOOK.

8. IN PART THIS ACCOUNTS FOR NYERERE'S AND KAUNDA'S RELUCTANCE TO BE PINNED DOWN ON A SITE AND DESIGNATED NEGOTIATOR FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATING AFTER YOUR VISIT TO PRETORIA. THEY WILL BE CONCERNED ABOUT: (A) BEING RUSHED

INTO SOMETHING NOT ALL OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH ARE CLEAR; (B) WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS SOMETHING WHICH DOES NOT MEET THE EYE, ESPECIALLY WITH SOUTH AFRICA; (C) WHETHER THEY CAN DELIVER THE NATIONALISTS OR SWAPO ON TERMS WHICH THEY THEMSELVES MIGHT BE WILLING TO ACCEPT BUT WHICH OTHERS WILL NOT.

9. THEREFORE I WOULD EXPECT THAT YOU WILL NEED TO REASSURE THE AFRICANS ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- (A) HAVE SAG AND THE USG ALREADY MADE A DEAL?
- (B) DO THE AFRICANS HAVE AS MUCH INFORMATION AS SAG?
- (C) EVEN IF THE OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR IDEAS ARE ACCEPTABLE, HOW CAN THE AFRICANS SIGN ON WHEN THERE IS NO ASSURANCE THAT SMITH WILL EITHER LEAVE OR NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH?
- (D) IS THE TRANSFER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, WHATEVER IT IS CALLED, TO GENEVA LIKELY TO RESULT IN A PROTRACTED SERIES OF MEETINGS ACHIEVING NO SERIOUS CONCLUSIONS OR DILUTING SWAPO'S CLAIMS TO A "PREDOMINANT" ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IN POST-INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA?

10. THERE ARE MANY OTHER DETAILS AND NIT-PICKS WHICH WILL SURELY ARISE BUT THESE SEEM TO ME TO BE THE MOST IMPORANT AT THIS POINT. WE SHOULD NOT BE DISCOURAGED BUT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO ADDRESS THESE QUESTIONS, IF NECESSARY, IN SOME DETAIL, AS WE PUSH AHEAD.
MARSHALL

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